



Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies

Annual Report

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Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies

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CPACS Objectives

The Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies was established in May 1988 as a specialist research and teaching centre within the University of Sydney. It has evolved into a significant international contributor in this field.

The Centre aims to facilitate dialogue between individuals, groups or communities who are concerned with conditions of positive peace, whether in interpersonal relationships, community relations, within organisations and nations, or with reference to international relations.

It promotes interdisciplinary research, teaching, public discussion and publication on the causes of conflict and the conditions which affect conflict resolution and peace. Through the Peace Foundation and the Sydney Peace Prize it celebrates the achievements of outstanding contributors to the processes that build peace, justice, truth and reconciliation.

Projects focus on the concept and realities of justice and the means of attaining conditions that contribute to equitable social relationships and just societies.



The Context of the 2002 Report

By Dr Ken Macnab, President CPACS

Peace with Justice

As a prologue to an account of CPACS activities the Annual Report has always provided a brief sketch of national and international affairs that have a bearing on our objective of peace with justice. This sketch deals with matters such as the current struggles to achieve peace in various areas of the world, the progress of moves for reconciliation with indigenous peoples, the issue of abuse of human rights, and the impact of global economic developments and government policies on the provision of education and welfare and the general conditions of life and work.

The New Cold War

During 2002 President Bush's 'war on terror' became an expanding blueprint for a long-term American moral, political and military policy, which he elaborated in a series of speeches, such as his State of the Union Address in January and his speech at West Point Military Academy in June, and the document titled *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, released in late September. America is depicted as pursuing an historical 'mission', a 'crusade', a renewed 'manifest destiny'. This entitles her to arbitrate for the whole world, to identify the 'good' and the 'evil', the 'civilised' and the 'uncivilised', those

'with us' and those 'against us', those supporting 'freedom' and those supporting 'terror', those possessing threatening 'weapons of mass destruction' and those merely having these same weapons for their own protection. The extent to which this is an American 'mission', dominated by American perspectives and objectives, need emphasis. Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defence, announced a new relationship between diplomacy and military strategy when he stated: 'The mission determines the coalition, not the coalition the mission.' Moreover, although the Taliban and the al-Qa'ida 'global network' were the original targets, Bush widened the ambit in January, by referring to 'terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological or nuclear weapons', and naming North Korea, Iran and Iraq 'an axis of evil'. In May three more states - Syria, Libya and Cuba - were added to the list, as US Undersecretary of State John Bolton warned: 'beyond the axis of evil there are other rogue states intent on acquiring weapons of mass destruction'. In short, America defines the targets in this new war.

Although American leaders make occasional statements about peaceful methods of pursuing the 'war on terrorism', such as promoting 'human dignity' and working with others to 'defuse regional conflicts', the only methods given any real support are aggressive and militaristic. Moreover, at West Point, Bush proposed selective pre-emptive military strikes, whereby America must 'confront the worst threats before they emerge. (Applause).' But all such formulations, whether 'imminent threat' or 'anticipatory self-defence' or some other Orwellian euphemism, are serious breaches of international legal requirements, such as the classic formulation of self-defence by the US Secretary of State following the Caroline incident in 1837 and Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. At the same time, the use of aggressive military strategies against terrorism is in many ways counter-productive, because it ignores the origins of terrorism, the climate of opinion that fosters extremism, the grievances that generate hatred, and plays into the hands of the terrorists by reinforcing the original prejudices. A far more realistic point was made by Kofi Annan when he addressed the Security Council in early October, and summarised a UN Counter-Terrorism Review:

'Just as terrorism must never be excused, so must genuine grievances never be ignored simply because terrorism is committed in their name. It does not take away from the justice of a cause that a few wicked men or women commit murder in its name. It only makes it more urgent that the cause is addressed, the grievances heard, and the wrong put right.'

The bombings in Bali on October 12 brought the 'war on terrorism' sharply into Australian awareness and the political arena. These actions appear to have been aimed generally at 'Westerners' and specifically at Britons and Australians. The Australian Government has been quick to use them to reactivate old agendas. By early November, ASIO had conducted a number of heavy-handed and well publicised 'raids' on the homes of Muslim 'suspects'. The 'signals' sent helped create an upsurge of labelling, intolerance and racism. They also highlighted the dangers of the Government's proposed legislation granting ASIO even greater powers. The ASIO bill, still under examination in the Senate, would permit the detention in secret, without access to a lawyer for the first two days or proper trial, of any Australian citizen (including children as young as 14) who it was felt could 'substantially assist the collection of intelligence that is important in relation to a terrorism offence'. Refusal to answer a question could earn a five-year prison term.

These new security powers have not been adequately justified or debated, have not been limited to a specific emergency, are a disproportionate extension of existing powers, and run the risk of becoming permanent. Moreover, as Professor George Williams, Director of the Gilbert and Tobin Centre for Public Law at UNSW, emphasised, they fail to tackle the causes of terrorism or promote long-term solutions. He wrote: 'Law-making can actually redirect attention away from debating more practical responses to terrorism, while draconian laws may lead to a sense of complacency and also damage the democratic freedoms we are seeking to protect.' Furthermore, without a Bill of Rights (which all other Western nations possess), Australia is 'vulnerable to bad laws passed in times of crisis.' In short, too hasty, thoughtless and supine subscription to the Bush-led 'war on terrorism' is both dangerous and counter-productive.

The rhetoric and methods of those at the forefront of the 'war on terrorism' are shaping it to be the New Cold War (or Cold War II if you prefer), with all the features that characterised the original Cold War: the rhetoric of good and evil, civilised and uncivilised, take our side or suffer the consequences; the oversimplification and labelling and demonising, with 'Islamic Fundamentalism' or even 'Islam' as the great demon; inflated military budgets, reduced care for domestic issues; the justification of violence, including terrorism, to defend the national interest; the collusion of the media in inflaming feelings and sustaining morale; the curbing of freedom of speech and access to information, and attacks on critics as traitors; the reduction of civil liberties and human rights; and the hypocrisy of supporting some terrorism while condemning other users.

War on Iraq

The war on Iraq, which has more to do with 'unfinished business', military aggrandisement and the politics of oil than with the 'war on terrorism', was apparently decided on before Christmas 2001. In his State of the Union speech in January this year, Bush labelled Iraq as part of an 'axis of evil'. Since then, ways and means to justify and achieve 'regime change' in Iraq have been an American preoccupation. At West Point in June Bush announced the new policy of pre-emptive self-defence. But the opposition to blatantly unilateral action led to a new tack, which put pressure on the UN Security Council and General Assembly to reactivate weapons inspection in Iraq and provide a 'trigger' for an American-led invasion. Notwithstanding the failure to curb international terrorism, or capture Mullah Omar or Osama bin Laden, and the slide into faction-fighting and instability in Afghanistan, as well as the growing anti-American feelings there, Bush's main efforts focus on cobbling together a 'coalition of the willing' and manufacturing a flashpoint.

None of this is justified. Pre-emptive self-defence in this form breaches both the principles enunciated by Secretary of State Daniel Webster after the Caroline incident in 1837 and Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. Both provide only for immediate, proportionate action against real and imminent military danger. Many commentators have emphasised the danger of setting unacceptable precedents and damaging international relations. Despite couching it in his usual Americo-centric fashion, Henry Kissinger made the crucial point: 'It is not in the American national interest to establish pre-emption as a universal national principle.' In short, the key tenet of Bush's new global policy is a dangerous aberration that, if implemented,

could destabilise the world and hamstring the United Nations for decades. Moreover, none of the assertions about Iraqi 'weapons of mass destruction' and links to al-Qa'ida provide an acceptable level of proven danger. Even the CIA rates the likelihood of an Iraqi chemical or biological weapons attack against the US (or anyone else for that matter) as 'low'. Whatever the military methods used, high civilian casualties, increased immiseration for the Iraqi people, destabilisation in the Middle East and possibly beyond, and exacerbation of the Israel-Palestine conflict, are likely consequences.

The Israel-Palestine Conflict

The continuation of already discredited policies by all concerned made 2002 a classic study in retaliatory violence and failed leadership in the Middle East. Israel responded to a wave of Palestinian suicide bombings in early December 2001 by destroying Palestinian Authority resources and attempting to intimidate and marginalise Yasser Arafat. Now characterised by both Ariel Sharon and George Bush as a 'failed leader' best removed from the situation, Arafat attempted to control Hamas and Islamic Jihad activity while protesting (with some justification) that his ability to do so had been destroyed. As the siege of Arafat's Ramallah headquarters compound tightened, however, the range of groups willing to provide 'martyrs' expanded, the targets began to include the Israeli military, and the number of terrorist alerts in Israel rose to an average of four a day. When more than 50 people died in one week in February, Israel's Defence Forces blew up the Voice of Palestine radio and TV station in Gaza City and fired on Arafat's compound. Sharon promised on Israeli TV to create a buffer zone between the communities, and in June work began on an elaborate barrier of barbed wire, ditches, fences and roads along stretches of the West Bank border.

In mid-March, while in Washington Bush was congratulating himself and his allies on the success of the first six months of the 'war on terrorism' and preparing the way for the next phase against Iraq, Israel launched its most massive search-and-destroy operation in twenty years. Despite the obvious dangers of attacking Iraq before the Arab-Israeli conflict had been halted, American diplomacy was ineffectual. The military noose around Arafat's headquarters was tightened, and in April the Israeli Army launched an operation to take over the Jenin Refugee Camp, the source of a number of terrorist attacks. Set up in 1953, administered by the UN Relief and Work Agency, and only a little over a half a kilometre square, Jenin was home to about 13,000 registered refugees. The resulting battle was brutal and destructive; many civilians died when Israel used excessive and indiscriminate force against fanatical Palestinian resistance. The propaganda war raged equally bitterly; Jenin became part of the martyrology of the Middle East.

The military crackdown simply became part of the cycle of mutually assured retaliation. Nonetheless, the peaceful end to the five-week siege of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem provided a rare glimpse of relatively sensible conflict resolution. But the campaign against Arafat (whom Sharon regrets not having eliminated in Beirut years earlier) turned out to be counter-productive. In preliminary statements, before a visit to the US in late July, King Abdullah of Jordan warned military action against Iraq, particularly without genuine forward movement in the Israeli-Palestinian process, 'would really open a Pandora's box.' He ridiculed demands by Washington for the removal of Yasser Arafat as leader of the Palestinian Authority as

a precondition of progress with the comment: 'Arafat's popularity goes up the minute you point an Israeli tank barrel at him or there is a statement out of Washington.' In early August the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution, by 114 votes to 4 with 11 abstentions, demanding an Israeli army withdrawal to its September 2000 positions and 'the immediate cessation of military incursions and acts of violence, terror, provocation, incitement and destruction.' This was meant to apply to both sides; neither side complied.

In September, the retaliation for suicide bombings escalated further. In their third attack since March on Yasser Arafat's Palestine Authority compound in Ramallah, Israeli troops cut off electricity, water and telephone lines and used heavy machinery to destroy most of the remaining buildings. Over loudspeakers they threatened to blow up the remaining buildings unless about 50 alleged terrorists inside were surrendered. They also raised an Israeli flag over a nearby building. Protest marches in the West Bank and Gaza resulted in a number of deaths. There was widespread international diplomatic condemnation; even the United States described the Israeli actions as 'unhelpful to the peace process'. But the cycle of terrorist attacks and military retaliation continues and the death toll rises towards 3,000, of whom more than 2,000 are Palestinians. The fate of two potentially constructive developments is uncertain. One are more systematic attempts to reform the Palestinian Authority, to improve its efficiency, financial transparency and accountability and spread some of Arafat's power to alternative political leaders around him. The other is the belated withdrawal of Labour from Sharon's Government of National Unity, the selection of Amran Mitzna as new leader and the articulation of more positive and peaceful long-term policies (including revival of the Arab Peace Initiative of March's Arab League Summit) towards the Palestinians, ahead of fresh elections in the new year. However, the resurgence of Benjamin Netanyahu as a leadership contender promises to make even Ariel Sharon appear moderate.

The Balkans

The trial of former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic before the UN War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague for offences (including genocide) committed in Croatia and Bosnia in the 1990s, is having unintended consequences. Commencing in February this year, the televised spectacle of Milosevic doggedly defending himself in court, presenting himself as the voice of the Serbian people, themselves victims rather than perpetrators of atrocities during the Balkan wars, has increased his approval rating at home and lowered that of the Tribunal. According to Dragoljub Zarkovic, a leading Belgrade editor, Milosevic was 'politically dead' a year ago, but 'The tribunal has given him the kiss of life.' Moreover, the sort of Serb nationalism that Milosevic and his supporters exploited is seeing a modest revival ahead of the upcoming elections. The trial has another two years to run, and Milosevic may well be found guilty; but the exposure of awful atrocities and human rights abuses and the imprisonment of a leading perpetrator may not have the salutary effect desired.

Northern Ireland

Until recently, the power-sharing administration in Northern Ireland, established by the 1998 Good Friday Accord, had survived a series of threats to its stability. Progress was being made towards peaceful civil

society and material prosperity. Extremists on both sides were still active, settling internal feuds and carrying out vigilante attacks in the criminal underworld, but observing the cease-fire with the police and British Army. But a spying scandal, revealed in October, in which the IRA was accused of penetrating the Northern Ireland Office and accessing more than a thousand sensitive documents, has endangered the whole process. At issue is the continued existence and activities of the IRA, and its relationship with Sinn Fein and peaceful democratic politics. First Minister David Trimble said that the prerequisite level of trust had been destroyed: 'To make things work you have to have a minimal level of confidence in others.' Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams accused the Unionists of engaging in 'kamikaze politics' by damaging the very political process that would make the IRA wither away. Unfortunately, neither the Loyalist nor IRA extremists show real willingness to disarm and disband.

Chechnya

The Russia-Chechnya conflict, nasty and fruitless by any standard, escalated in November with the seizure of more than 800 people as hostages in a Moscow theatre complex by a group of Chechen terrorists. When special troops pumped in narcotic gas and stormed the building all the terrorists and 117 hostages died. Public outrage at both the terrorism and the 'rescue' has been hijacked by President Vladimir Putin, who rose to power in 1999 partly because of a promise to destroy the Chechen separatists. The same special counter-terrorist units that stormed the theatre are being sent to Chechnya to hunt down guerrilla commanders, particularly the one who authorised the Moscow attack. Commencing in 1999 but bogging down in bitter and destructive fighting, the Russian campaign in Chechnya has since 'September 11' been portrayed as equivalent to, and possibly even part of, the American-led war against al-Qa'ida and so-called 'Muslim extremism'. In the process Chechen moderates, willing to curb extremism in order to broker peace, have been treated as terrorist enemies. Putin is just as willing as Bush to over-simplify issues, demonise opponents, ignore legitimate grievances and favour military solutions to serious problems.

Kashmir

Reputedly having some of the most beautiful places on earth, Kashmir has been a bone of contention between India and Pakistan ever since independence from Britain in 1947, when the Hindu ruler of the Muslim-majority princely state opted to join India rather than Pakistan. A war over the area in 1948-9 ended when the UN brokered a ceasefire, divided Kashmir along the Line of Control and called for a referendum, never held. China has occupied part of the high plateau since the Sino-Indian War of 1962. Following anti-Indian riots in 1965, Pakistan launched a war to capture Indian-controlled Kashmir, but failed. Yet another war was fought in 1971 when India supported the East Pakistan secessionists who created Bangladesh. Periodic insurgencies and revolts, claimed by India to be armed and trained by Pakistan, have cost more than 35,000 lives since 1989, and the stakes became higher in 1998 when both sides conducted nuclear weapons tests. Heightened nationalism on both sides, and Hindu extremism, have added the ingredient of savage Hindu-Muslim communal riots, particularly in Gujarat, a state on the border with Pakistan.

Triggered by a terrorist attack on the Indian parliament complex on December 13, 2001, relations

deteriorated sharply, and India and Pakistan appeared close to their fourth major conflict. Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee equated the attack with 'September 11' in the US, blamed Pakistan for supporting terrorists, particularly in Jammu and Kashmir, and made it plain India was ready for war. But President Musharraf of Pakistan, when he met Vajpayee in Kathmandu early in January, equivocated about controlling militants, and talked of distinctions between terrorists and freedom fighters. Both sides strengthened their forces at the borders, and increased shelling and raids across the Line of Control. The United States, caught between Indian anti-terrorist demands and Pakistan's importance as an ally in the war in Afghanistan, attempted with some success to cool the war of words and ease the military confrontation.

In May, following a terrorist attack near Jammu, accusations and equivocations flew again, domestic political pressures driving both sides to even higher levels of bellicosity. Nuclear war appeared to be a real possibility, foreign nationals were ordered to leave by various Western countries, and diplomacy became even more frantic. An election announced early in August for Indian-controlled Kashmir led to more than 400 deaths over the next months, but failed to produce a clear outcome. The campaign and voting were marred by violence, boycotts, murder of candidates and campaigners (particularly moderates who supported accommodation as the way forward) and misrepresentation. The future of Kashmir in particular, and India-Pakistan relations in general, has been darkened by the increase in Hindu extremism in India and the gains by Muslim extremists in the stage-managed elections in Pakistan. Unfortunately, this is a conflict overshadowed by others in the world.

Zimbabwe

Robert Mugabe continues to use violence and propaganda to rule Zimbabwe. His 'run-away victory' in the Presidential elections in March was achieved by depriving Movement for Democratic Change supporters of their votes by force and duplicity. Turncoat Joseph Moyo, former opponent of Mugabe's party and policies, now aggressive Minister of State for Information, openly traduces the opposition, white farmers and foreign press, and encourages violence against his opponents. Suspension of Zimbabwe from the Commonwealth of Nations, recommended after investigation by the leaders of South Africa, Nigeria and Australia, and sanctions by the European Union and America, have had little impact. Recently, a 1984 law requiring all traffic to pull over and stop when his motorcade, known as 'Bob Mugabe and the Wailers', passes by, has been amended to make it criminal to 'make any gesture or statement within the view or hearing of the motorcade with the intention of insulting' the President or his entourage. This includes shouting the MDC slogan 'Chinja' (change) and giving the party's open-handed salute.

The International Criminal Court

The International Criminal Court, having received the endorsement of more than the required sixty nations, came into effect on 1 July 2002. The United States, however, despite originally supporting the proposal, and having the definitions of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity made narrower and more precise, withdrew from participation, being obsessed with its 'war on terrorism' and determined that no Americans would face 'foreign' tribunals on war crimes charges. America has ignored the point that every

country retains the right to prosecute offences by its own citizens and that the ICC can act only where this is not pursued.

Even the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Alexander Downer, was 'passionate' about the issue, despite making the point: 'I'm not a dewy-eyed multilateralist who believes we should sign every convention and statute that comes along.' He said in June, 'But in this particular case I do think it's an effective way of ensuring the butchers of the future don't get away with the sort of butchery we saw perpetrated by people like Pol Pot and President Milosevic in Yugoslavia.' But John Howard came back from yet another obsequious visit to the United States in June infected with Bush's rhetoric and American objections to the ICC. A confused political debate, in which opponents ignored the actual terms of the tribunal's powers and procedures, and appealed to 'sovereignty' and spurious allegations about untrustworthy 'foreigners' dealing unfairly with Australian military personnel, failed to prevent Australian participation.

However, continuing American animosity then took the form of demanding bilateral guarantees of immunity for its nationals from all and sundry, presumably putting Americans beyond the jurisdiction of the Court. But Article 98 of the ICC Treaty, invoked in these demands, provides for a system designed to handle suspects among states actually participating in the Court, not a means of circumventing the Court. Canada and New Zealand strongly rejected these demands as damaging to the international status of the Court. Canberra huffed and hovered. By October, 12 mostly small or poor countries had signed deals promising not to hand US citizens over to the ICC, and the International Criminal Court in the Hague made a controversial decision to permit European Union countries to make limited offers of impunity, providing those covered were officially overseas and any accused Americans were actually tried in US courts.

The UN Convention against Torture

In late July, the UN's Economic and Social Council recommended, with 35 in favour, 8 against and 10 abstentions, the General Assembly adopted the draft optional protocol to the Convention against Torture. This would have permitted the creation of a process for regular visits by independent bodies to places of incarceration, including prisons and refugee centres, in order to prevent cruel practices and torture. Australia, in company with China, Cuba, Libya, Nigeria and the Sudan, voted against it. The usual spurious and amoral mantras about 'sovereignty' and 'our right to reject inspection' were intoned. The United States vacillated, but at least abstained.

Not surprisingly, within a few days, Michel Gabaudan, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees representative in Australia, delivered his bluntest criticism yet. On the Howard Government's policies towards asylum-seekers, he said: 'What makes Australia's detention system so invidious is that it combines the three elements of being mandatory, indefinite and non-reviewable.' He went on: 'This, in our view, makes it the most severe system to be found in the Western democratic world.'

Failure of International Responsibility

The UN World Food Summit in Rome in June 2002, called to discuss the rich world's failure to meet food targets and apply more equitable agricultural policies towards the poor world, agreed five years ago, was ignored by leaders of the world's richest countries, including the US, Britain, France, Germany and Japan. They were sharply criticised by UN President Kofi Annan, who said 'In many cases, they give with one hand and take with the other; help in the one part, protectionism on the other.' He told the summit: 'Hunger is one of the worst violations of human dignity.' He also criticised the Western world for shutting the door against impoverished immigrants, and warned that poverty and despair could breed terrorism. 'I don't want to say that the poor are terrorists, but those who live in a situation of disadvantage can more easily be manipulated by terrorists.'

At the World Summit on Sustainability in Johannesburg early in September, China announced that it would ratify the Kyoto Protocol on greenhouse gas emissions, and Russia indicated that it was preparing to do the same. These decisions would meet the enabling threshold of ratification by 55 countries representing 55% of the industrialised world's emissions. Australia and the United States remain the only two developed countries opposing the treaty. The Summit agreed by 2015 to reduce by half the 2.4 billion people without access to sanitation and clean water, but its final report contained more good intentions and voluntary initiatives than binding targets in the many areas of sustainable development and biodiversity protection.

Australian Government treatment of Refugees

The treatment of refugees by the Howard Government in 2002 continued to reveal the basic lack of respect for human rights and international standards that has become its hallmark. Close examination of the 'children overboard' affair during the 2001 election campaign, despite being hampered by the non-appearance of key participants like Peter Reith, revealed a level of crude political manipulation and opportunism which set new lows in Australian history. Indeed, businessman Neville Roach, who resigned in protest as Chairman of the Multicultural Council and adviser to Immigration Minister Philip Ruddock in January, has stated that the whole 'asylum-seeker crisis' was 'manufactured' by the Howard Government to support a 'blatantly populist and racist' policy. In August he launched an alternative refugee policy from the group Racial Respect, which advocated the abolition of the 'grossly inhumane and discriminatory' system of Temporary Protection Visas. At the National Press Club in Canberra, Roach called for an end to the 'demonisation and vilification' of refugees and a complete community-led transformation in attitudes and policies, similar to that which accompanied the end of White Australia and the switch to multiculturalism.

One group of people involved in the refugee shambles finally gained a small voice. By late July some of the 233 asylum seekers falsely alleged by the Government to have thrown their children overboard from their sinking vessel had arrived in Australia. Having spent 10 months in what one of them called 'desperate and miserable' conditions on Manus Island, as part of the 'Pacific solution' designed to prevent them from ever setting foot on Australian soil, most of them had been judged as genuine refugees and some were being reunited with family already here. Mostly Iraqis, they had written a group letter while in detention, stating

they were innocent of the Government claims, and protesting against being denied the opportunity to publicly state their case until now. It seems that almost the only successful aspect of the 'Pacific solution' is the deliberate prevention of treatment of the detainees as human beings with the right to present their cases publicly. Refuting ongoing accusations of breaching international conventions, particularly the clauses in the Convention on Refugees on rights to education, humane treatment and freedom of movement, a spokeswoman for Immigration Minister Ruddock made the peculiar distinction that the refugees on Manus and Nauru were in 'camps' not 'detention centres'.

One aspect of the treatment of refugees, which clearly breaches international conventions, is the separate processing of immediate family members (spouses and children) who arrived in Australia separately. A UNHCR submission to the Senate in the middle of the year made the point: 'The unity of family members is a fundamental human right.' This requires the granting of derivative status to the family of people assessed as refugees, so they can be reunited. But the Australian system deliberately flouts this requirement. The best-known case is that of Ali Bakhtiyari and his family. He was accepted as a refugee when he arrived in 1999 and given a Temporary Protection Visa (now under further investigation), but his wife and five children, who arrived by boat in January 2001, remain under process in Woomera Detention Centre. The escape of some of the children and their failed attempt to gain asylum in some foreign embassy highlighted the whole injustice. Family members scattered through the system in Australia and the Pacific islands, including large numbers of children, are being treated in clear breach of various human rights instruments signed by this country, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

A study carried out by the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies placement students this year highlighted the harsh treatment and powerlessness of the nearly 8,500 Temporary Protection Visa holders in Australia. Granted for three years and subject to review prior to a final determination, the TPV puts the holder 'in limbo', with limited access to services, assistance or employment, unable to unite with family, reliant on charitable assistance, facing a difficult reassessment process and the likelihood of an adverse finding and forced deportation. An integral part of the study was to write a series of three letters to all federal politicians, informing them of the problems created by the TPV system and requesting their response and assistance. Most of the responses were negative, some simply acknowledging the letter and offering no comment, others pointing out that the letter-writers were not in their constituency (and ignoring them), or 'passing the buck' (particularly Coalition politicians) by saying the matter fell within the Minister for Immigration's portfolio. Other Coalition politicians merely said they supported current policy. Some Labor politicians pointed to a review of Labor's position, some offered sympathy but little else. A handful from Labor and the minor parties expressed personal support for efforts to alter the system and assist refugees. All in all, however, the current gaggle of politicians displayed little independent thought, respect for human rights or awareness on injustice.

Hypocrisy and Double Standards in World Affairs

In recent years, particularly since the start of the 'war on terrorism,' there has been a vast increase in the 'hypocrisy' and 'double standards' embedded within virtually all the policies of the leading powers and their allies. This means simulating a virtue but not practicing it, saying one thing but doing another, applying different standards to yourself and others. For example, Ambassador Richard Butler, with more than 30 years of experience in international weapons diplomacy and inspection, stated in a recent lecture: 'I confess too that I flinch when I hear American, British, and French, fulminations against weapons of mass destruction, ignoring the fact that they are the proud owners of massive quantities of those weapons, unapologetically insisting that they are essential for their national security, and will remain so.' Next day at a CPACS workshop he said that he was stunned by the 'deafness' of Americans to the inherent 'hypocrisy' of their stance on nuclear weapons. In all his contact with leading Americans, his attempts to have them 'enter into discussions about double standards have been an abject failure' and that the 'fundamental sense of unfairness' created by this was dangerous.

It is hypocrisy for President Bush to claim to be the 'leader of the free world' in its 'war on terrorism', but implement policies that undermine the very values supposedly being defended and have allies who use terrorism on their opponents. It is blatant hypocrisy for the Australian Government to insist that its refugee policies conform to United Nations standards and that it is a good international citizen. A UNHCR submission the Senate in the middle of the year said that Australia's separate treatment of immediate family in particular could break several human rights covenants, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child, 'as well as ignoring standards that Australia has helped to create and promote'. It is hypocrisy for John Howard to speak of 'a fair go for all' as a typical Australian 'value' when he applies it so meanly and selectively. It is also hypocrisy for John Howard to laud the values of 'the family' so fulsomely and deny the right of refugees to have their cases assessed and be reunited as families. It is hypocrisy for the Reverend Fred Nile to present himself as a Christian exemplar and make bigoted claims about the security dangers of traditional Muslim female attire. He illustrates the point that the worst feature of most of the world's religions is some of their leading practitioners.

The list of hypocrisies is endless, and the language of deception flourishes, whether home-grown like 'core and non-core promises', 'people who would do things like that', 'in the national interest', and 'non-specific but credible' terrorist threats, or foreign like 'plausible deniability', 'friendly fire', 'collateral damage', 'axis of evil', and so on. George Orwell called it 'Newspeak'.



2002 Director's Report

By Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees, Director CPACS

This has been a year of impressive achievements for the Centre and for the Sydney Peace Foundation. Although a distinction needs to be made between the activities of the Centre and the Foundation, it is inevitable that the lines of distinction become blurred. My role as Director of both wings makes the distinct identity of CPACS in relation to the Centre difficult to sustain. However, the following references to Teaching, Research, Advocacy, Community Outreach, and Staffing refer primarily to the work of the Centre.

Teaching

Under Jane Fulton's stewardship the postgraduate teaching programmes have gone from strength to strength, not only in terms of numbers of enrolled postgraduate students - over 60- but also in the range of units being offered. The students come from many parts of the world and have produced a student culture of commitment to human rights and peace with justice issues. Humour and friendship have also been important features of this culture. In addition students contributed invaluable in arranging a series of lunchtime seminars on the Palestinian Israeli violence in first semester and the Kashmir violence in the second semester. They were supported and encouraged in such initiatives by Wendy Lambourne. Former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Mary Robinson continued this seminar tradition - which has included Nelson Mandela in September 2000 - when she addressed a memorable seminar on human rights on the morning of November 7th following her 2002 Sydney Peace Prize address 'Human Rights at the Heart of Peace' in the Seymour Centre the night before.

Research

Many of the advocacy and outreach activities of the Centre include but are not preoccupied with research. For the purpose of this report I refer mostly to the work of Research Officer Dr. Paul White. Paul has been mostly concerned with generating research proposals on questions such as 'Safety in Afghanistan', 'The Life Chances of Lebanese Youth in Sydney' and 'Both Sides of the Fence: an enquiry into the perspectives of refugees and their carers'. 'Carers' include detention centre personnel and public servants in DIMIA. The proposal for an appraisal of the quality of life of Lebanese youth has been successful. That research will begin early in 2003. The 'Both Sides of the Fence proposal' goes to the ARC. Paul's own expertise is in Middle East languages and politics. It would be wise to play to his strengths, hence a more recent proposal to examine the 'warmongering' which goes on in the name of the war against terrorism and the assumption that Australia's interests are best promoted by supporting the foreign policies of the United States.

Advocacy

Three projects fit into this category, though each has also been concerned with the careful collection of research data.

(i) The first of these projects is the long running West Papua Project, which aims to promote peaceful dialogue over West Papua. The ever optimistic Dr. John Ondawame has given this project a particular sense of colour and character, culminating in two days of workshops with West Papuan leaders in Sydney in September. The workshops received the endorsement of the former Indonesian Ambassador to Australia, a significant piece of negotiation in itself. This was the first time in a foreign country that as many as fifteen West Papuan leaders were able to discuss issues of reconciliation among their own people. These workshops coincided with the murder, on August 31st, of two Americans and an Indonesian outside Timika. Media interest in this violence enabled the Sydney workshops to receive public coverage about the merits of non-violence. The workshop costs were covered largely by the Myer Foundation. Subsequent to the completion of the September meetings, the Centre contributed a detailed submission to the Federal Senate's Committee of enquiry into Australia/Indonesian relations.

(ii) The second project concerned the Centre's support for a Cambodian, Souk Narin of the Sociology Department in the Royal University of Phnom Penh, who came to Sydney on a UNESCO scholarship to examine the prospects of establishing 'Cultures of Peace in Cambodia'. Narin was a diligent scholar who worked around three themes in his report: (a) the feasibility of promoting democracy (b) the difficulty of introducing non violence to people who still live in poverty and fear (c) the need to generate interest in human rights at local village levels as well as at higher levels of government. Narin was a survivor of the Pol Pot genocide. Nevertheless he worked without trace of bitterness and with irresistible humour. His substantial report to UNESCO in Paris is a credit to his own industry and to the support that he received in the Centre.

(iii) An exploration of the Powerlessness of Temporary Protection Visa Holders (TPV's) was conducted by four undergraduate interns - Melissa Baxter, Sonya Brophy, Rebecca Dudding and Chris Sargant - who worked in the Centre for four months, July to November. They played a significant role in the Centre's life during that period. They produced a perceptive analysis of ways in which the difficulties of TPV holders have been compounded by the relative indifference of large numbers of members of the Federal Parliament. This project was carried out in conjunction with the community based Show Mercy Advocacy Group and with lawyers from the Public Interest Advocacy Centre. This project should have another six months to run but the students' internships ended. The dilemma remains whether to release the major findings - concerning the culture of fear among TPV's and the behaviour of Federal politicians - before Christmas or early in the new year.

Community Outreach

This heading covers all the educational activities of the Centre, plus our tradition of providing hospitality to any visitors who wish to discuss their own work or find out more about ours. Ad hoc seminars, which provided opportunities for a diverse audience included Dr. Richard Butler's workshop - on September 20th - on the urgent need for nuclear disarmament and Dr. Yun Seo's discussion - on December 3rd of the means of achieving reconciliation between North and South Korea. Perhaps the outreach initiatives that have most

significance concern visits to High Schools to discuss the means of attaining peace with justice in any context. The opportunity to open the Cabramatta High School's Peace Garden and the chance to address all of the year 10 and year 11 students at Chatswood High show the considerable potential for increasing young people's understanding of human rights and for developing their interest in contributing to peace. As in previous years high school students from regional New South Wales were supported in their efforts to travel to the Seymour Centre to hear this year's recipient of the Sydney Peace Prize Mary Robinson. Other visible outreach activities have included newspaper articles, the publication of my Tasmanian Peace Trust Lecture - Recovering Humanity - and frequent ABC radio broadcasts about issues of non-violence, human rights and humanitarianism. There is good prospect of the ABC creating a regular half hour slot, called 'Talking Peace' to start on Radio 2BL in the New Year.

Staffing and Funding

The Centre's achievements have reflected the creativity and industry of all members of staff and significant volunteers, including students. Whether the President of CPACS Dr. Ken Macnab is to be counted a 'volunteer' hardly matters. CPACS has benefited enormously from Ken's selfless leadership and negotiating skills. I am the beneficiary of Ken's collegueship, consistent support and sound advice. Another key resource that has increased in the past twelve months concerns the library, as developed with loving care and skill by Peggy Craddock. The new and larger library room is already filled to overflowing, evidence of Peggy's flair and commitment to the Centre's work.

Although this report is not meant to read like a shopping list, Jane Fulton's contribution needs far more than passing mention. Jane is leaving to join her husband in New York. The above reference to Jane's stewardship of the postgraduate programme shows only a little of her creativity and industry. In addition to her support of students and oversight of their work, Jane has also been a significant player on the executive of the Peace Foundation and a skilful net-worker in many fields related to peace negotiations. The Sydney Peace Foundation's award of the Peace Medal to His Holiness the Dalai Lama - on May 26th in the Entertainment Centre - was the result of Jane and Mark Fulton's significant work with the Buddhist Fellowship and their personal generosity. We shall sorely miss Jane's warmth, understanding and skills. Jane has been succeeded in her work as postgraduate coordinator by Iris Wielders who has impressive international experience in peace studies and conflict resolution. Iris will also take responsibility for oversight of CPACS office management, including the running of several projects.

By mid February 2003, Antonia Stephenson will also have left. For the past five years, Antonia has been the Administrative Officer of the Peace Foundation and has also supervised CPACS' finances and office administration. CPACS's reputation for professionalism owes a lot to Antonia's insistence on the highest possible standards of communication, documentation and courtesy. I personally owe a great deal to Antonia for her friendship and for operating as Acting Director of the Foundation and of CPACS in my absence. Antonia's humour and warmth have been key ingredients of a supportive and creative culture. We shall have difficulty in wording the advertisement for her replacement. Suffice to say that an organization that does not

have characters usually ends up having no character. We wish Antonia every happiness in the next stage of a colourful career and we look forward to the publication of her Faroese oriented biography.

Throughout 2002 colleagues in the University of Sydney have given significant personal and financial support to the Centre. Pro Vice Chancellor Ros Pesman has always supported the postgraduate coordinator position and has been a valued colleague on the executive of the Sydney Peace Foundation. Following the success of our postgraduate teaching and enrolments, Professor Pesman has funded a Lectureship in Peace and Conflict Studies. This full time position - to be filled for three years in the first instance - will add considerably to CPACS's resources and sense of confidence about the future. Consistent with this financial support, the Vice Chancellor has funded the combined Office Manager/Post Graduate Coordinator position filled by Iris Wielders. This funding is over three years. I gratefully acknowledge the significant personal interest and financial support from the Vice Chancellor and from Professor Pesman.

Day to day administrative accountability for CPACS' work has been undertaken by Dr. Tim Fitzpatrick and his team - Anne Emms, Mary Yew and Maria Cortes - from the School of Society, Culture and Performance Studies. We are indebted to the selfless work and support that we have received from Tim, Anne, Mary and Maria.

My last observation concerns the national and international significance of CPACS' very existence as well as its specific projects. We will need to clarify the links between CPACS and the Foundation, we will need to avoid the habit of saying 'yes' to so many demands. But the detailed nature of the introduction to this year's annual report - Ken's overview of violent conflicts not least terrorism and the war against it - show the context in which we operate. That context continues to produce almost incessant educational, political and humanitarian demands.



Postgraduate Peace and Conflict Studies

By Dr Jane Fulton, Teaching Coordinator

Since its inception in 1999, the graduate programme in Peace and Conflict Studies has experienced a steady and impressive rise in student numbers alongside the development of a quality teaching programme. Now attracting one of the largest enrolments in the Faculty of Arts, our programme is meeting a growing demand for studies that offer an understanding of conflict and suggest ways to bring about peace with justice. We thank the University of Sydney for its ongoing support with the establishment of a full-time academic teaching position in Peace and Conflict Studies, and a 4-day a week administrative assistant to the Centre. Such action is an unambiguous statement by the University that, in this world riven with strife, obtaining an education on the attainment of peace is a priority.

Enrolments

This year, 63 students enrolled in units in the graduate programme in Peace and Conflict Studies, undertaking the following courses:

40 Master of Arts in Peace and Conflict Studies

6 Diploma of Arts in Peace and Conflict Studies

3 Certificate of Arts in Peace and Conflict Studies

11 cross-listed

3 Audits

Of these students approximately one third are from overseas.

Summer School enrolments for 2003 currently number 10.

Graduate Peace and Conflict Units Offered in 2002

Title of Unit	Semester 1 (4 Mar- 6 July)	Semester 2 (29 July – 7 Dec)
Passion, Peace and Poetry	Wednesdays 6-8 pm	
Understanding and Attaining Human Rights		Mondays 6-8 pm
Peace and Conflict: Understanding the Issues	Mondays 6-8 pm	Mondays 3-5pm
Non-Violence and Social Change		Wednesdays 6-8 pm
Peace-Building Media	SUMMER SCHOOL 2003	13 JAN – 17 JAN 2003 INTENSIVE
Resolving Conflicts within Organizations	Tuesdays 6-8 pm	
The United Nations and International Conflict Resolution		Tuesdays 6-68pm
Reconciliation and Conflict Transformation	Thursdays 6-8 pm	
Peace and the Environment		Thursdays 6-8 pm
Dissertation Parts I & II (equivalent to 2 units)	Independent study	Independent study

Development of the programme: New Units

The **2002 PACS programme** has developed the 2001 programme with the inclusion of three new units:

• **PACS6901 The United Nations and International Conflict Resolution** **Semester 2** Students will critically examine the role of the United Nations in promoting international peace and security. The various international conflict resolution mechanisms employed by the UN will be defined and analysed, including preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping, peace enforcement, and peacebuilding. Students will learn to assess the contribution of the UN to the attainment of peace with justice by considering historical and contemporary case studies such as Cambodia, Somalia, and East Timor.

• **PACS6902 Reconciliation and Conflict Transformation: Concepts and Processes** **Semester 1**, The concepts of apology, forgiveness, reconciliation and justice will be explored as they apply to the transformation of conflicts and building of peace at the intrapersonal, interpersonal, community, national and international levels. Psychological, spiritual, structural and political dimensions of reconciliation will be considered in the context of case studies from the domestic and international arenas. Students will be challenged to critically assess the Australian Aboriginal reconciliation process and to examine a range of

reconciliation mechanisms including truth commissions, victim-offender reconciliation and family group conferencing. Integral to this unit will be a consideration of indigenous perspectives on reconciliation as a means of building peaceful relationships and societies. Case studies include South Africa, Bougainville, Rwanda, and East Timor.

• **PACS6903 Peace and the Environment: Issues of Conflict and Security** **Semester 1** This unit will consider the relationship between the environment and human conflict, from community conflicts over wilderness and logging, to international negotiations over measures to reduce global warming, and social unrest caused by unequal access to resources. Students will be challenged to consider the inherently violent nature of our relationship with the environment, and to explore the concepts of holistic peace, environmental ethics, sustainability, and the rights of nature. A case-study approach will be utilised to demonstrate how environmental degradation is a security issue that contributes to conflict in different parts of the world. We will also explore the question, how environmental protection can contribute to peace-building initiatives at the local, regional and international levels.

The **2003 PACS programme** will offer two new units one with a focus on ‘gender’ and the other on ‘faith’, as follows:

• **PACS6906 Faith, Politics and the Clash of Civilisations after September 11 Semester 2 2003** This course will permit students to examine the notion that a fundamental cleavage exists between ‘Western civilisation’ and other civilisations — especially the ‘Muslim world’. Students will be challenged to explore several case study conflicts, using the ‘clash of civilisations’ paradigm of Samuel P. Huntington. The course will enable students to consider whether the conflicts being investigated demonstrate a civilisational clash, as well as to explore sources of conflict beyond civilisational clashes and to consider recent scholarship that challenges the Huntington thesis.

• **PACS6907 Gender and the Development of Peace** **Semester 2, 2003** This unit will explore the significance of gender in peace and conflict studies. From the operation in Australia of women’s night patrols as a response to community violence, to the Grameen Bank’s experience of the feminisation of poverty in Bangladesh, the course will focus on development as a community process. Feminist approaches to human rights and the role of women as agents of social change will be investigated. Issues to be addressed include gender in peace-keeping operations and the contribution of men and women as peacemakers.

Summer School 2003

A Peace-building Media Unit will be offered in the 2003 University Summer School. For the third time, this unit will be run by Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick. Lynch is a senior reporter with Sky News (London) and a former Sydney correspondent for the *Independent* newspaper. He spent the Kosovo crisis reporting from Nato HQ in Brussels, interpreting the warmongering spin from the perspective of peace journalism. At the same time McGoldrick worked with playwright Harold Pinter to make the BBC television

programme: *Against The War*. She has reported from Sydney for Sky, the BBC, Channel Four and *Australian Woman's Weekly*.

The pair has trained working journalists in peace journalism techniques in Indonesia, Norway, Cyprus, the Middle East and the Caucasus. They are presently running a series of seminars, publications and a roundtable for London-based journalists: *Reporting the World*, aimed at creating an effective ethical framework for covering international news in the 21st Century. Top UK journalists are taking on these issues. Transcripts, discussions, useful articles, and videos can be accessed at <http://www.reportingtheworld.org>.

Teaching staff 2002

Stuart Rees is Professor Emeritus and Director of the Centre for Peace & Conflict Studies and Director of the Sydney Peace Foundation at the University of Sydney. He has been a social worker in Britain, in Canada, in the War on Poverty programs in the U.S.A. and with Save the Children in India and Sri Lanka. He has taught at leading universities in the U.K. (Aberdeen & Southampton), in Canada (Toronto and Wilfrid Laurier), in the U.S.A. (University of California at Berkeley, University of Texas). His publications include over one hundred journal articles on topics such as evaluations of health and welfare services, the attributes of peace negotiations and humanitarianism in social policy. He is the author and co-author of ten books, including *A Brutal Game* (1986), *Achieving Power* (1991), *Beyond the Market* (1993), *The Human Costs of Managerialism* (1995) and *Human Rights, Corporate Responsibility* (2000). Professor Rees' awards include a Simon Fellowship at the University of Manchester, a Humanities Fellowship at the City University of Hong Kong and the Award of Highest Honour for 'Contributions to World Peace' conferred in 1998 by Soka University, Japan. For four years he was an elected Fellow of the Senate of the University of Sydney. He is currently a council member of the Toda Research Institute into Global Governance and Human Security and a member of the Aboriginal Reconciliation Council of New South Wales. Professor Rees' units include "Passion, Peace and Poetry"; "Resolving Conflicts within Organizations" and "Non-Violence and Social Change".

Wendy Lambourne BSc (Hons), Grad Dip Info Services, MA (Int Relations), Grad Dip Int Law Wendy has submitted her PhD in the Department of Social Work, Social Policy and Sociology on "Justice and Reconciliation: Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in Cambodia and Rwanda". She worked previously with the Peace Research Centre at the Australian National University and in 1997-98 was a Visiting Scholar at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia, USA. Her publications include articles on humanitarian intervention, United Nations reform, Australian foreign policy, East Timor, Rwanda, gender and conflict, Aboriginal reconciliation, and a chapter in Mohammed Abu-Nimer (ed.), *Reconciliation, Justice, and Coexistence: Theory and Practice*, Lexington Books, Lanham, MD, 2001. Wendy has an honours degree in psychology from the University of Melbourne, and postgraduate degrees in international relations and international law from the Australian National University. She has also completed courses in political science, conflict resolution, genocide studies, mediation, reconciliation, and training of trainers in peacebuilding and development. Wendy's units include "Peace and Conflict:

Understanding the Issues”; “Reconciliation and Conflict Transformation”; and the “United Nations and International Conflict Resolution”.

Mike Edwards received his PhD from Macquarie University in 1997. His research focused on the links that exist between environmental degradation and human security in Pacific island states. Mike undertook the major part of his research in Fiji and has written a number of papers that explore how the threat of climate change has been manipulated by industrialised nations in order to undermine the security of economically less-developed nations. Over the last few years, Mike has researched and written about environmental globalisation and ecocolonialism. Since 1997, Mike has travelled widely and has worked at the Institute for Sustainable Futures (University of Technology, Sydney). Here he was looking at the environmental problems created by vehicular transport. After leaving the Institute for Sustainable Futures, Mike became a full-time musician recording a CD and performing didgeridoo in Europe. During his trips abroad he began to write his first book of poetry. Many of Mike’s poems explore the violent relationship between humans and ‘nature’. He joins CPACS to write and present a course that creatively explores the links between the environment and peace. Dr Edwards coordinates “Peace and the Environment: Issues of Conflict and Security”.

Jane Fulton received her PhD from the University of Sydney in 1998. Her research focussed on the social construction of nature in conflicts over the environment. She is the Teaching Coordinator of Graduate Peace and Conflict Studies at this University. From Semester 2, 2002, Jane will be teaching a graduate unit “Peace and the Environment: Issues of Conflict and Security” in conjunction with Dr Mike Edwards. Her publications include *Positive Policing – Rebuilding Social Bonds and Community Confidence*, (1999) and *Managing Creatively: Human Agendas for Changing Times*, (1996). Jane is the editor of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies Newsletter *PeaceWrites* covering issues in peace studies, seminars, books, and peace initiatives. Jane is a member of the Executive Committee of the Sydney Peace Foundation.

Patricia Garcia spent five years as Programme Manager/Administrator with Commonwealth Government Departments of Immigration, Foreign Affairs, Social Security. In 1988 she changed career to overseas aid and development, working first in Sudan as Manager of a UN refugee camp, then as consultant for AUSAID on programme design, project monitoring and evaluation for aid projects. During the last ten years Patricia has worked as Programme Manager for Community Aid Abroad (OXFAM AUST), International Women’s Development Agency and AUSTCARE. During this time she gained experience in assessment, planning and monitoring emergency relief and rehabilitation projects, including mine action activities and gender issues. She has also conducted short-term training consultancies for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Australia, New Zealand, Japan and Turkmenistan and is a trainer on People Oriented Planning, Humanitarian Charter and minimum standards on disaster response. Her publications comprise articles on refugee and human rights issues including gender and violence. Patricia is the coordinator of the unit “Understanding and Attaining Human Rights”.

Cheryl Minks has an honours degree in philosophy from the University of Sydney and is now completing her PhD in the Department of Social Work, Social Policy and Sociology. Her research is concerned with identifying patterns of conflict and the practical consequences of continuing dysfunction in the workplace as well as the implications this has for the successful transformation of such conflict. Prior to undertaking her current research she has had extensive experience working in private industry and commerce and the public sector in positions from base grade to executive management. Amongst other things, she has worked as a vocational trainer in the areas of personal and professional development, including conflict resolution, communication, mediation and negotiation as well as life coaching. In recent years she has been employed as a consultant to government departments and small businesses in the areas of staffing, structure and communications. Cheryl also spent many years as a shop floor union delegate, executive union official and union employee. She is currently working as a group facilitator, counsellor and trainer in drug and alcohol and related therapies and is teaching “Resolving Conflicts within Organizations” in the Peace and Conflict Studies graduate programme.

Summer school staff – see ‘Summer School’ above.



CPACS Research

By Dr Paul White, Research Officer

As CPACS Research Officer, one of Dr. Paul White's main tasks is to design, write and secure research grants for CPACS. As 2002 draws to a close, we can report that we have succeeded in securing one \$53,000 research grant and are awaiting the fate of requests for two other grants.

The Effects of Racism on Lebanese Youth in Australia

The successful \$53,000 research grant will fund the project *The Effects of Racism on Lebanese Youth in Australia. Pathways to Just Solutions*. This two- year project will be funded by the Foundation for Young Australians' Vision, Values and Principles. The project will analyse racism directed at Lebanese youth in Australia and identify means to resolve specific consequences of such racism among Lebanese youth. Ever since the mid-1990s, a growing number of concerns have been voiced by public figures and the media in New South Wales regarding an alleged increasing lawlessness in Sydney's western and south-western suburbs. Murder and a gang rape have been cited as part of this lawlessness, which has evoked a 'zero tolerance' foray by police in west-suburban Sydney, against youth of Middle Eastern background. The problem has only become further exacerbated in the wake of the September 11 US terrorist attacks, and by Australia's controversy over unauthorised Middle Eastern asylum seeker arrivals. In debates about law and order, these issues are frequently lumped together.

More specifically, the research will establish the origins of this racism, and identify the effects that it has on the employment levels and educational achievements of Lebanese youth in Australia today, as well as on their relations with a wider community. Research indicates that Lebanese youth are significantly over-represented on the wrong side of the New South Wales justice system and prone to academic under-achievement. This unfolding situation has placed additional demands on public resources, and reduced the life chances of Lebanese-Australian youth. The project aims to promote the self-esteem of Lebanese suburban youth and contribute towards breaking the cycles leading to 'deviant' behaviour, by identifying pathways to the just resolution of social problems. These problems currently bar the way towards the full participation of these youth in Australian society and their fruitful interaction with key government and non-government agencies

Our partners in this research will be the Bankstown-based Lebanese Community Council. We have also been supported by the Australian Lebanese Welfare Group, which is based in Merrylands. The body funding this research seeks 'To create positive opportunities and outcomes for Australia's young people, by leading the development of innovative strategies that enable them to reach their potential and participate fully in society'. This research project will commence shortly.

Safety for Afghan Asylum Seekers

This project seeks \$20,986, over 2 years, to investigate whether Afghan asylum seekers and recent refugees in Australia should return to their country. This project addresses a serious problem. Many Afghan asylum seekers in Australia are currently detained in outback detention centres, under stressful conditions for all concerned. Others are free — but living on borrowed time on Temporary Protection Visas. Few of these asylum seekers have any realistic prospect of permanent residence in Australia under current laws. To add further to the pressure upon them, they are being urged by the Australian Government to return to their homeland. Australia says that Afghanistan is now safe for them to return. Many of these asylum seekers, however, remain convinced that precisely the opposite is the case. The central sticking point appears to be concerns about human safety.

In order to discover the truth, the project proposes to use the criteria of the *International Declaration of Human Rights* to determine the extent to which Afghans returning from exile might actually enjoy the 'right to life, liberty and security of person'. As the anxiety of Afghan asylum seekers in Australia intensifies, it would seem increasingly urgent to determine the facts and therefore assist conciliation between the asylum seekers and the Australian Government, in the interests of both the asylum seekers and the entire Australian community.

The project would ascertain in very concrete terms on what basis claims about safety can be made and whether an environment where residents feel safe and secure actually exists in Afghanistan today. It will either show that many Afghans can return safely to their homeland, or that they should be permitted to remain permanently in Australia. The first funding agency approached has regretfully declined to support it. An alternative funder has been approached and is currently considering this matter. A reply is expected soon.

Both Sides of the Fence

Meanwhile, another research grant proposal — this time with the Australian Research Council — has just been submitted. This seeks almost \$80,000 over two years for the project *Both Sides of the Fence: An Analysis of the Perceptions and Experiences of Participants on both sides in the Administration of Australia's Refugee Policies*. This proposed project will analyse the administration of Australia's refugee policies from the viewpoint of both refugees and of persons responsible for their custody and welfare (their 'carers') — from detention centre personnel to NGO settlement workers.

In short, the research would investigate 'both sides of the fence'. Current problems in the administration of Australia's refugee policies will be set within a global human rights context, examining the principal elements of historical continuity in Australia's non-European migration policies. Interviews would then be conducted on 'both sides'. Analysis of current perceptions, views and experiences on both sides would permit proposals for policy changes, thus facilitating the lessening of tensions between refugees and carers. This research would allow two key practical matters to be addressed:

- 1 How the human rights of both refugees and their carers are affected by the administration of Australia's refugee policies.
- 2 The extent of international refugee movements and the points of conflict within the Australian refugee regime, including consideration of the possible exacerbation of any existing tensions between carers and refugees due to the global 'War on Terror'.

Finally, arising from all the data and analysis addressed, it would be possible to formulate alternative policy approaches for the administration of Australia's refugee protection program. It would also be helpful to take proven conflict resolution approaches into consideration, when considering any policy alternatives. This study will assist in resolving the conflicts around the refugee question, which is embedded with complex cultural and ideological issues.

Our Research Partner in this project would be the Melbourne-based Ecumenical Migration Centre (EMC). The EMC, a part of the Brotherhood of St. Laurence, is a non-profit, non-denominational community-based agency working with the most marginalised and disadvantaged ethnic groups, particularly new and recently arrived migrants and refugees. For the EMC, this has always entailed identifying and articulating the needs of refugees — especially those from emerging communities.

If successful, this funding application would begin funding in July 2003.



CPACS Seminars

By Wendy Lambourne, Seminars Coordinator, for the Seminars Team

In first semester 2002, CPACS volunteers organised a very successful lunchtime seminar series on the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. One of the strategies devised by the team was to hold seminars on the main campus in order to attract more students and academics that would otherwise not venture over Parramatta Rd to the Mackie building where CPACS is located. This strategy paid off, with record numbers of seminar participants. The goal of the seminars was to create a safe space for peaceful dialogue. Thanks are due to team members Goranka Slavujevic, Shu-fang Wei, Abe Quadan, Hussein Chami, Chris Sargant and Paul Clark for their enthusiasm, ideas and commitment.

Inspired by the success of the Israeli-Palestinian seminar series in first semester, CPACS Masters student Jeremy Block teamed up with fellow students Stewart Mills and Synnove Kvam to organise a series of lunchtime seminars for second semester on “The India/Pakistan Conflict: Towards Peace with Justice in Kashmir”. The aim of the series was to replace ignorance with knowledge and to inspire peaceful transformation of the conflict. The seminars were generally well attended and our Masters students deserve congratulations for their initiative and achievement.

Audiotapes were made of both seminar series and are being transcribed with a view to including them in a CPACS Occasional Paper. In addition to the lunchtime seminar series held both semesters, various *ad hoc* seminars were held throughout the year. Thanks to Antonia Stephenson and Jane Fulton for organising the *ad hoc* seminars.

Seminars 2002

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| 11 March 2002 | How It All Began: Zionism, Israel and the Palestinians
Dr Paul White, CPACS |
| 25 March 2002 | Camp David, Oslo and Beyond: The Peace Process and the Role of the West
Assoc. Prof. Ian J. Bickerton, University of New South Wales |
| 8 April 2002 | Grassroots Peacemaking: People Building Peace between Israelis and Palestinians
Zeena Elton, Edmund Rice Centre for Justice and Community Education |
| 12 April 2002 | Roundtable Discussion with Mrs Irene Santiago, member of the
Philippine Government Peace Panel |
| 22 April 2002 | The Peace Process and the Right of Return
Dr Helen McCue, University of New South Wales |

- 24 April 2002 **Aceh – Towards Peace Through Democracy**
Erwanto, Acehese Popular Democratic Resistance Front
- 6 May 2002 **Political and Economic Implications of the Oslo Collapse for Israel, the Palestinian Authority and the Middle East**
David Beirman, Israel Government Tourism Office
- 8 May 2002 **The War on Terrorism**
Dr Keb Macnab, CPACS
- 20 May 2002 **What is Stopping Peace? A Palestinian Perspective**
Dr Ahmad Shboul, University of Sydney
- 27 May 2002 **What is Stopping Peace? An Israeli Perspective**
Dr Gil Merom, University of Sydney and Captain Nicholas Weininger, ex-Israeli Army
- 3 June 2002 **Towards Peace with Justice for Israelis and Palestinians: Where To From Here?**
Dr Ephraim Nimni, University of NSW & Abe Quadan, CPACS
- 7 June 2002 **Book launch and talk by Bernard Otterman, author of *The Golem of Auschwitz: Stories***
- 17 June 2002 **The Role of the UN and Independent Peace Centres in Achieving Peace with Justice**
Dr Rita Hauser, International Peace Academy
- 26 June 2002 **Sydney Peace Foundation Breakfast Seminar: Giving Peace a Chance: A Beautiful Extreme**
Jeff McMullan, author and journalist
- 5 August **The Middle East: Between Reality and Reality TV Shows**
Ephraim Ben-Matityahu, Consul General of Israel
- 7 August **Developing Just Refugee Policies in Australia: Local, National and International Concerns** Public Evening Lecture (a University Senate initiative organised by CPACS), with Father Frank Brennan, SJ AO
- 12 August 2002 **The Two Nations Theory and the Beginnings of the Kashmir Issue**
Dr Jim Masselos, University of Sydney
- 14 August 2002 **Journey of Hope: Raising Leaders in Post-Soviet Armenia**
Dr Armen Gakavian, CPACS
- 15 August 2002 **Prospects for Reunification in Korea**
Dr Hun Kyung Lee & Dr Byung-Chul Seo, Office of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea
- 19 August 2002 **War or Peace on the Indian Subcontinent: The Question of Kashmir**
Dr Bob Stern, Macquarie University
- 26 August 2002 **The Impact of September 11 on the Kashmir Conflict**
John Zubrzycki, The Australian

4 September 2002	Israeli-Palestinian Dialogue and Peaceful Co-existence Rotem Dan-Mor, Israeli conscientious objector
9 September 2002	What is Stopping Peace? An Indian Perspective Mgana Pathi, Indian Consul-General
16 September 2002	The Impact of the Media on the Kashmir Conflict Christopher Kremmer, Sydney Morning Herald
18 September 2002	Ruminating on a Big Mac: Conflict Resolution and Globalisation Dr Alan Tidwell, United States Institute of Peace
20 September 2002	Controlling Nuclear Weapons, End the “Hypocrisy” (morning workshop) with Ambassador Richard Butler
23 September 2002	Human Rights Issues in Kashmir Kate Barker, Amnesty International
6 November 2002	City of Sydney Peace Prize Lecture Mary Robinson, former United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights



CPACS Programmes

By Lynda-Ann Blanchard, Programme Development Officer

This year networking with various national and international organizations has been a feature of programme development.

(i) Linking with some of the international peace organizations identified in the *E-Peace* research paper of last year, has provided excellent opportunities to discuss the work of International University for People's Institutes for Peace (IUPIP), Italy; Instituto de los Paz y Conflictos, University of Granada, Spain; and the Japanese Association of Language Teachers, Japan and Transcend University, (on-line). The University of Innsbruck, Austria, also recently established postgraduate peace studies and invited Lynda to speak about the work of CPACS, and in particular to run a proseminar on gender and the development of peace.

(ii) Nationally, the *Human Rights Asia Pacific Forum* hosted a two-day conference to which CPACS members were invited to participate. Representatives from most of the regional human rights commissions as well as a wide representation of Australian NGOs were in attendance. A key focus of the workshops was the importance of engaging the media in promoting regional peace initiatives and strategies for such engagements were analysed.

(iii) Within New South Wales, CPACS continues its important work with the NSW Human Rights Education Committee. Both were active participants in the National Human Rights Education Committee's annual

strategic conference *Dignity, Democracy and Equality* held in Canberra in August. Stuart Rees was a key facilitator on issues of engaging the corporate sector in conversation about human rights. The announcement of Australia's first Chair in Human Rights Education at Curtin University (Perth) is an initiative of this National Committee and has been applauded by CPACS.

(iv) Community networking this year has included working with the City of Sydney in promoting regional peace. In solidarity with moves towards self-determination in East Timor, a photography exhibition "Lorosae - Images for Peace" was mounted in Sydney Town Hall from May 22nd - June 6th. Supported by CPACS, the International Institute for Peace Tourism, the National Human Rights Education Committee, the East Timor community and funded by the City of Sydney, Australian photographers presented their images of peace from the world's newest nation. This collaboration will be developed further next year with the City of Sydney's support for a new exhibition of East Timorese tais weavers: "Weaving Women's Stories--reconciling shattered lives".

(v) Lastly, our ongoing close collaboration with the CRN has worked to raise awareness of conflict resolution theory and practice by lobbying for a small space at CPACS to be set aside for students and members interested in this important aspect of peace work.



CPACS Library

By Peggy Craddock, Librarian

The library has made a successful move to a larger room. This was made possible by Ken Macnab's efforts to obtain additional space and equipment for the Centre. Donations from Dr Stella Cornelius and Jane Sloane have expanded the range of resources relevant to the Graduate Teaching Programme. The layout and content of the collection illustrates its function as a dedicated resource for Peace and Conflict Studies. By year's end there will be approximately 1200 items catalogued, processed and available.



CPACS Membership

By Abe Quadan, Membership Secretary

This year we have introduced a new membership category; Honorary Membership Certificate. This certificate is presented to the VIP visitors of CPACS as an acknowledgement of their work in the area of promoting and supporting peace work and initiatives. The first honorary certificate was presented to the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and 2002 City of Sydney Peace Prize recipient Ms Mary Robinson.

In addition to the Honorary Certificate, last year's AGM approved the introduction of presenting all life members with a Life Member Certificate. We have so far printed 8 certificates in this category. CPACS currently has 219 members in its database. This represents an increase of 29 from last year's report (2001). Life members have increased from 6 last year to 11 this year. The current membership status is as follows:

Honorary Member	1
Financial members current:	100
Financial members to 2001	70
Financial members to 2000	42
Students	2
Exchange	3
Life members	11
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 219

Two reminder renewal letters were sent out during the year. Many of our members have responded and renewed their membership. A number of those letters (about 20) were returned due to members changing addresses.

During the year, we have created a new Yahoo Group mail list for the purpose of speedy communication with our members who have provided us with their e-mail addresses. This way of communication received an acceptance and appreciation from our members. We have also respected the privacy of some of our members who did not wish to receive materials other than announcements of CPACS related activities. We ask our members who have e-mail addresses and wish to be added to the group to provide us with their e-mail address.

Many thanks to all the students, volunteers and the staff who helped with preparing and sending the renewal letters during the year. I wish all our members and all of you a Merry Christmas and a very happy and peaceful year.



CPACS Publications

By Dr Jane Fulton, Publications Officer

Occasional Papers

No 02/1 Jocelyn Lock, Malia Quenault and John Tomlinson, *Some Reasons Why Australia Should Abolish the Detention of Asylum Seekers*

No 02/2 Mary Robinson, *Human Rights at the Heart of Peace*, City of Sydney Peace Prize Lecture 2002

CPACS' Newsletter: Peacewrites

